



The Making of a Cultural Icon: The Electric Guitar

WILLIAM F. DANAHER

Department of Sociology & Anthropology | College of Charleston | USA*

ABSTRACT

This article investigates how products of material culture can become cultural icons. Employing ideas from the production of culture perspective, this research traces the historical process by which the electric guitar was created, the role of the media, and the power of gatekeepers and musicians. The article discusses more broadly how this case extends the production of culture perspective by linking it to broader social changes, such as McDonaldization and a throwaway society.

*66 George Street, Charleston, SC 29424, USA

INTRODUCTION

This paper concentrates on the electric guitar by first investigating how the electric guitar was created. The development of the electric guitar in the United States is analyzed from the 1950s to the present day to show how certain guitars were raised to iconic status. Even though the sociological study of music has a long history, sociological research on the instruments used to make music has been sparse with notable recent exceptions (see for instance Bijsterveld and Schulp, 2004; Pinch and Trocco, 2002; Ryan and Peterson, 2001; Waxman, 2004). This article addresses this gap by showing how a material aspect of culture, the electric guitar, was important in helping to “create culture”, as Peterson (1997) puts it, and how this led to its iconic status. In what follows, I show how the electric guitar was defined and redefined over the last century, and ask the following questions. What is the process underlying the creation of the electric guitar? Who are important actors in this process? What were the outcomes and how were they shaped? To address these general questions, this paper looks at the creation and evolution of the electric guitar and asks more specific questions. Why has the electric guitar become so ever-present in US society? Why have certain guitars become iconic representations of the electric guitar? How have these representations changed over time to accommodate cultural expectations? I answer these questions through an historical overview of the creation and evolution of the electric guitar in the United States and by looking at the institutional spaces and actors involved. Following this, I track the electric guitar’s development as a cultural icon by performing a content analysis of magazine covers. As a prelude to this analysis, the following paragraph will place this research within a larger theoretical context.

Since its early days, sociology has seen the analysis of music as an ingredient in studying social change. Anthropologists have naturally held an interest in music as part of culture. For instance, Franz Boas’ focus on art led to the collection of an enormous body of data on song and music for others to analyze (McLeod, 1992). Sociology had a strong connection to anthropology, particularly in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, as exemplified by Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown’s influence on Talcott Parson’s functionalism (Parson, 1951) or Marcel Mauss’ (2001) influence on social exchange theory. Classical sociological attempts to analyze music were at times at a macro level, as in Max Weber’s (1957 [1921]) work on the rationalization of music, while others have been interested in how change occurs at a more micro level (Becker, 1973). One theoretical outcome of anthropological influences was the production of culture perspective in sociology (Peterson, 1978). It addressed the unfolding of cultural forms as they are fundamentally structured by production dynamics and active decision making by cultural entrepreneurs within the institutional realm. The notion that culture is created by an historical process via social action and within institutional freedoms and constraints provides a blueprint for this study. This article addresses the case of how the electric guitar became a cultural icon in a manner that takes into account this process and sheds light on how production dynamics have changed across time.

DATA AND METHODS

This analysis draws on a number of data sources and methods. Data from historical accounts provide an overview of the creation of the electric guitar and how it retained elements of traditional design while creating an innovative instrument (Bacon, 2000, 2002; Bonds, 2001; Wheeler, 1980, 1990, 2004). Quotes are used to

add depth to the historical explanation and were chosen because they represent the viewpoints of some of the most important figures in the production of the guitar. Information on how gatekeepers defined and redefined aesthetic and monetary value is also presented (Greenwood and Hembre, 2006; Gruhn and Carter, 1991). Media effects are estimated through a content analysis of *Guitar Player* magazine covers, the first and foremost publication for U.S. guitarists. Established in 1967, it soon became a monthly staple for guitarists, the arbiter of what was popular and hip. Written for amateur and professional guitarists, it featured interviews with important guitarists and articles on a number of topics, including guitar lessons and product reviews in later years. Arguably more important, however, in establishing guitar popularity were the covers of the magazine, since visual images have a strong influence on people's preferences (Ball and Smith, 1992). Magazines can be viewed by those who bought a magazine or simply browsed through the magazines in any store; therefore, cover material is analyzed. Data for this analysis (N=384) come from *Guitar Player's* 2002 thirty-fifth year commemorative issue in a story featuring a picture of every cover image from 1967-2002. A descriptive and frequency analysis of the data was performed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. Data was coded using the dominant image on the cover (Ball and Smith, 1992). If a guitar was the dominant image on the magazine's cover, the guitar was then designated as either acoustic or electric. Electric guitars were then categorized by type (e.g., different brands and body styles). This tests the importance of images across time and whether particular guitars defined what it meant to be an electric guitar. In other words, the more times a guitar appears on the cover, the more importance it is given, since it is likely seen more. To add to this analysis, I also include artist presence. Whether an artist is present, the artist's name, and whether an electric guitar is shown on the cover with the artist and type of guitar is noted. This adds to the quantitative content analysis by providing a qualitative element to the assessment of the guitar's appearances on the cover (Ball and Smith, 1992). The more popular the artist holding the guitar, the more impact this should have on the guitar's importance. The use of multiple methods to analyze cultural production highlights the importance of the institutional realm and human action in the process. This will help to answer why certain guitars have become more important cultural artifacts than others.

UNDERPINNING THEORY: PRODUCTION OF CULTURE

The production of culture perspective focuses on how people create and recreate culture (Fine, 1992; Hirsch, 1972; Peterson, 1979). Rather than viewing culture as a static entity, it is seen as developing across time due to the actions and reactions of social actors within social structures (Peterson, 1994). According to Peterson (1978), production of culture is often contingent on the creation of spaces within institutional frameworks which provide a place for alternative forms of creativity. From the point of view of the production perspective, people actively participate in changing cultural systems over time. For instance, Peterson (1997) analyzes how country music changed across time in both intended and unintended ways due to the contingent circumstances within the music industry and actions of performers and entrepreneurs. The outcomes of cultural products, such as music, tie into institutional arrangements, how they are navigated, created and recreated, and who benefits (Dowd, 2004). In this regard, the production perspective focuses on such diverse topics as novice performers (Winther, 2005), the labor process in ballet (Van Delinder, 2005), digital recording and creative performance (Marontate, 2005), race (Dowd, 2003), and gender (Dowd, *et al.*, 2005).

The production perspective also focuses on rewards systems in production of art and science (Crane, 1978), which includes the process of gatekeeping (Powell, 1978). Gatekeepers influence which cultural artifacts are recognized as significant. Research focusing on gatekeepers has looked at art (Greenfield, 1989), literature (Griswold, 1992), and music (Ryan and Peterson, 1982). Gatekeepers are important social actors in the process of production of culture since they play a key role in the formation and acceptance of what is culturally important. However, gatekeepers work within a semi-autonomous rewards structure which is partly dependent on consumers (see Martorella, 1982 for an example). Therefore, networks of producers, consumers, and gatekeepers are intertwined to help create important material and non-material cultural outcomes. As Radway points out in an analysis of the institutional matrix of book publishing:

In fact, they [readers] are deeply affected by a book's appearance and availability as well as by potential readers' awareness and expectations. Book buying, then, cannot be reduced to a simple interaction between book and reader. It is an event that is affected and at least partially controlled by the material nature of book publishing as a socially organized technology of production and distribution.

(Radway, 1991, p. 20)

So, how a product is presented to the public is as important as the product itself, if not more so.

Part of the presentation in the production process is the media. The media is partly controlled by profit but is linked to an underlying cultural aesthetic affecting creation of goods and cultural images (Antonelli, 2006). Actors in the process have a vested interest in perpetuating production of certain products that fit with expectations of what is good. The cultural products that become recognized as "better" than others are often in the eye of the beholder but the effect can be enhanced when one product is presented across time in a way that makes it more recognizable than other products.

This article addresses both the processes and outcomes of material and non-material culture and how key mechanisms within society are important in determining these cultural outcomes. The production perspective provides a means for analyzing the creation and change of the electric guitar and is useful in explaining the popularity of certain brands and models of guitars over others. Below, I outline how the electric guitar has changed over time and become an important part of our culture through the production dynamics of guitar makers, the gatekeeping practices of guitar dealers, and the role of the media. Following this will be a discussion of the broader implications for sociology theory and future research.

THE ELECTRIC GUITAR: FROM TRADITIONAL TO INNOVATIVE

EARLY PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION

The rising popularity, and eventual dominance of the electric guitar as a popular musical instrument, was a historically contingent process in the United States. The acoustic (non-amplified) guitar benefited from the hillbilly craze of the 1920s and 1930s (Malone, 1985). It was readily available from the Sears catalogue (Wheeler, 1980), easy to play (McSwain, 1995), and used by Jimmie Rodgers, Hank Williams and Elvis Presley. The electric guitar was sold as early as the 1930s (Wheeler, 1990) and tied to guitarists, such as McKinley Morganfield (a.k.a., Muddy Waters) in early

blues, Eldon Shamblin in western swing music, and Eddie Condon and Charlie Christian in jazz (Sallis, 1994).

Originally a hollow acoustic with an electronic pickup, the electric guitar was prone to unwelcome harmonic overtones or feedback, later popularized by Jimi Hendrix (Murray, 1989). The solidbody electric guitar solved this problem of feedback, since the body was constructed from a solid piece or pieces of wood, and set the stage for a primacy of electrical over acoustic instruments in popular music. The first solidbody electric guitars were more radical than traditional. However, innovation was fueled by players, builders, and audiences, similar to the spread of technology in other cultural arenas (Antonelli, 2006; Pinchott and Trocco, 2002). Up to this time, hollowbody guitars had employed traditional building techniques (Wheeler, 1990). The tops of the hollowbody guitars were arched and the sound depended on the vibration of the wood (see Figure One). The solidbody guitar lessened the vibrations and subsequent feedback. Adolf Rickenbacker built the first operable solidbody electric guitar, dubbed the “frying pan” (Bonds, 2001) but it was unsuccessful with artists (Wheeler, 1990), lacking the suggestive body shape of later electrics (McSwain, 1995; Waxman, 1999). Figure One illustrates the traditional, radical, and innovative designs of the electric guitar. Innovative designs combined the elements of traditional and radical designs.

Innovation is often contingent on organizations opening up creative spaces (Peterson, 1978), such as in culinary occupations (Fine, 1992), art making (Becker, 1982), and electronic keyboards (Pinch and Trocco, 1992). Two guitar manufacturers in particular, Gibson and Fender, adopted innovative guitar designs for solidbody guitars. Cultural production is sometimes tightly controlled by the company executives (Griswald, 1992) but creative industries often give workers more leeway (Fine, 1992) and workers peripheral to actual production can be involved (Becker, 1982). Gibson and Fender executives created production teams and enlisted professional musicians (Wheeler, 1990). Les Paul (a collaborator with Gibson) and Leo Fender represented a new breed of guitar builders whose backgrounds were in electronics (Waksman, 1999). In fact, Leo Fender was not a guitar player but rather a craftsman (Fender, 1990). As Fender notes:

We have a specific job to do, and we'd design a machine to do it. Perhaps that was a little unusual, because a great many companies are run by people who are principally executives. Often, an executive is not adapted to the machinery end of the business.
(Fender, 1990, p. 59)

The popular Gibson Les Paul and the Fender Stratocaster guitars were based on different production aesthetics (Wheeler, 1990). Gibson, founded in 1902, had traditional designs, such as the hollowbody archtop guitar. However, Les Paul built a solidbody prototype, the “Log,” a design so radical that he eventually glued the sides from an Epiphone hollowbody archtop guitar to give it the more conventional Gibson look (see Figure One). Gibson executives initially rejected Paul's ideas but later compromised to compete with Fender. As Les Paul notes,

I took it [his “Log”] over to Gibson - I was a dyed-in-the-wool Gibson man, still am - and I showed it to Mr. Berlin, and he called it the broomstick with a pickup on it. He said, “Forget it.” Later on, in late 1949 or so, he said, “Go find that kid with the broomstick and sign him up”.
(Paul, 1990, p. 155)

Paul, Ted McCarty, and a few other employees at Gibson, designed the Les Paul guitar which was introduced in 1952 (Bonds, 2001; Bacon 2002). It had a solidbody to prevent feedback but retained the arched top for a more traditional look, similar in shape to the hollowbody archtop (see Figure One).

Founded in the 1940's, Fender guitars incorporated innovative features, such as the cost effective bolt-on neck. This guitar could be constructed quickly through bolting the neck to the body, in contrast to the time consuming, and more expensive, process of gluing a neck to the body Fender's futuristic models fit into America's infatuation with space and technology. Tom Wheeler shows how their popularity was about novelty and popular appeal.

Whereas Gibson, for example, exploited its tradition and long, distinguished history, Fender was as new as this year's Coupe de Ville and purely Californian. Its guitars were neither neo-classical period pieces nor elegant, sunbursted jazzers. There was nothing tuxedo about a Telecaster, nothing Barney Kessel about a sky-blue Strat. Instead, Fender guitars were rock and roll, jet age, outrageous. They were futuristic as Sputnik, or as tacky as al the sequins in Webb Pierce's wardrobe, depending on your point of view.

(Wheeler, 1990, p. 44)

Figure 1: Traditional, Radical, and Innovative Designs for the Guitar

Traditional Designs:



Classical



Acoustic Dreadnaught



Hollowbody Archtop

Radical Designs:



Gretsch Frying Pan**



Les Paul Log*

Innovative Designs:



Gibson Les Paul



Fender Stratocaster (Modified)



Gibson ES335 Style

Sources: Author; *Peden, 2013; **Museum of Making Music, 2009

Fender bodies resembled the traditional acoustic guitar (see Figure One); Leo Fender called his guitars “electric Spanish designs” (Bacon, 2001). Yet their distinctiveness made them favorites of 1950's rebellious youth (Wheeler, 1990). Improvements to the Fender Stratocaster over his earlier guitars were largely due to customer requests, such as its scooped-out back. When asked about its origin, Leo Fender said:

An entertainer named Rex Gallion was the one who wanted me to make the relief on the backside of the guitar so that it wouldn't dig him in the rib cage. And he also wanted that little carving away of the corner on top, to make it more comfortable for the right arm.

(Fender, 1990, p. 63)

While the concept was small-group based, changes were often due to player requests or a larger customer consensus. Fender tended to concentrate on function. For instance, electronic pickups were designed not to distort amplifiers, while the Fender electric bass guitar made it easier for guitar players to switch to the bass guitar when compared to cumbersome upright basses (Fender, 1990).

During the 1950s, electric guitar sales climbed as young people took up the instrument (Wheeler, 1990). Kids were enamored first by guitarists such as Les Paul, Johnny Smith, and Chet Atkins and, later, Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, and Link Wray (Waxman, 1999). The guitar was cheap and loud, with the added bonus of making teenagers instant “rock stars” (McSwain, 1995). Elvis Presley even used the guitar to overcome his shyness in high school (Wheeler, 1980). Serious musicians and the more affluent gravitated towards top brands, especially models like the Fender Stratocaster and Gibson Les Paul. By the time Gibson discontinued the Les Paul's production in 1960, the electric guitar became the musical instrument to symbolize youth rebellion (Wheeler, 1990).

Elvis made the guitar even more popular through his adoption of African American dance moves (Escott and Hawkins, 1980), while Chuck Berry's electric guitar sound was beamed to white kids listening to transistor radios, who often believed he was white (Kloosterman and Quispel, 1990). In 1964, The British Invasion began with the Beatles' arrival on U.S. soil. They were heavily influenced by the guitar in American blues, R&B, and rock and roll music, as well as American and British folk music (Garofalo, 2005). This brought the electric guitar to baby boomers, such as Billy Squire who cites the Beatles' appearance on the Ed Sullivan Show as his introduction to the instrument (Meeker, 2010). Beatle guitarist George Harrison favored Gretsch guitars initially, as a bow to Chet Atkins and rockabilly artists, but later played Gibson and Fender guitars.

Production of guitars in the U.S. increased but not quick enough to take advantage of demand. Charles A. “Chuck” Rubovits, president of Harmony, said they sold over five million guitars but Rubovits remembers:

We had the know-how, but we didn't have the guts. We were too conservative. We were very successful, so we didn't want to do more, and as a result the Japanese began to get a bigger and bigger share of the market. We were 10 to 50 times over sold all the time and didn't always realize it. We tripled our production and thought we were doing a great job. We weren't even scratching the surface.

(Rubovits, 1990, cited in Wheeler 1990, p. 237)

The U.S. market was flooded with cheap guitars, and guitars soon passed other musical instruments in sales (see Ryan and Peterson, 2001). Gibson and Fender benefitted from this, as they did from their mystique. For instance, Mark Knopfler, guitarist with Dire Straits, noted:

While in Leeds, I also got my first Gibson. It was one of their comparatively inexpensive models — a double cutaway from the very late '50s, maybe a Les Paul Special or a TV. Anyway, it was black, but I had it restored to a cherry finish. I love Gibsons and Nationals, too. There's something magical about them.

(Knopfler, 1979, cited in Siegel 1979, p. 33)

Rock stars, such as Eric Clapton, Michael Bloomfield, and Jimmy Page, played a Les Paul and lauded the qualities of the 1950's production models. When Bob Dylan famously "went electric" at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival, he played a Fender Stratocaster (Sallis, 1994; Wheeler, 1980). Jimi Hendrix played the Stratocaster so religiously from 1966 to 1970, that Stratocasters from this period are often referred to a "Hendrix Strats" (Murray, 1989). Even Eric Clapton adopted the Stratocaster (Clapton, 2007). When the CBS Corporation bought Fender in 1965, critics charged that CBS Fenders were not on par with pre-CBS guitars, citing lax production methods as a sign of lower quality instruments (Gruhn, 1995; Wheeler, 2004), even though Leo Fender claimed he couldn't tell much difference (Fender, 1990).

As mentioned above, 1950's Gibson Les Pauls and the 1950's and 1960's Fender Stratocasters have a reputation for higher quality and became the first collectable solidbody electric guitars (Gruhn and Carter, 1991). The Les Paul predated the Stratocaster as a collector's item, primarily due to the 1960's halt in production. Although Stratocaster production continued unabated, its association with rock stars made CBS's acquisition of Fender-made older models increasingly valuable. By the 1980's nearly every guitar company had a version of the Stratocaster (Gruhn and Carter, 1991). Stratomania was fueled by Eddie Van Halen (Waksman, 2001), whose first album, "Van Halen," sold 12 million copies, the only top 20 U.S. album from the 1970s with a guitar on the cover (Bennett, 2005). Van Halen built his personal Stratocaster copy and manufacturers of guitar parts took advantage of a new interest in do-it-yourself guitar building.

In sum, through a process of give and take between producers and players, the electric guitar evolved from an acoustic guitar with a pickup to a solidbody electric guitar. Both radical and traditional qualities were used in the production of the innovative Les Paul and Stratocaster, both of which became very popular. Artists adopted these guitars and contributed to their popularity. During the 1960's, a guitar boom created a heightened demand. The historical narrative above supports the argument that earlier models became valuable for a number of reasons: their limited production, superior construction materials, sex appeal, their association with rock stars, and issues surrounding corporate takeover. I now turn to the role of gatekeepers in the production process.

GATEKEEPERS

Guitar dealers and restorers were also important in establishing the value of Stratocasters and Les Pauls. This group acted in part as gatekeepers judging cultural, monetary and aesthetic value (Greenfield, 1989; Griswold, 1992; Ryan and Peterson, 1982). Chief among these dealers was George Gruhn, owner of Gruhn's Guitars in Nashville, TN. Gruhn began collecting guitars as a college student, turned the

avocation into a profession, and soon became one of the undisputed experts on vintage guitars in the U.S. (Gruhn, 1995). Gruhn and Carter (1991) published a guitar identification manual that gives tips on identifying guitars and commentary on value and quality. The manual's early publication date and Gruhn's reputation and knowledge make this guide the penultimate reference, despite a spate of publications since. In regards to the Gibson Les Paul, they note:

The Les Paul Standard from 1958-60 (single-cutaway, humbucking pickups, cherry sunburst finish) is, along with the 1958 Flying V and Explorer models, the most sought after solidbody production model on the vintage market.

(Gruhn and Carter, 1991, p. 139)

Gruhn and Carter (1991) argue that production techniques and materials used in earlier electric guitars from Gibson and Fender were superior to other manufacturers and to later years, especially in their most sought after models such as the Les Paul and the Stratocaster. The idea that a guitar can be "vintage" due to its pedigree is a relatively new phenomenon, according to Tim Brooks (2005) who says, "In reading some two thousand references to the guitar in nineteenth- and early-twentieth century newspapers, books, magazines, diaries, and letters I didn't come across a single writer who identified the maker of the guitar which he or she was referring" (p. 272-3).

Collecting vintage guitars became vogue in the 1980s (Brooks, 2005). Part of this phenomenon was the establishment of *Vintage Guitar Magazine* by Alan Greenwood in 1986. The magazine features articles on vintage instruments and interviews with guitar dealers and the rock musicians from the heyday of rock music, mostly from the 1960s through the 1980s. This magazine is a key reference in establishing the value of electric guitars. Greenwood turned Gruhn and Carter's (1991) specifications into a means to evaluate both the aesthetic and monetary value of collectible electric guitars. The magazine features an abbreviated price guide for instruments every month. It notes the guitar's manufacturer, model, production year and price. Prices for instruments are based on a survey of guitar dealers. To augment this, Greenwood coauthored *The Official Vintage Guitar Price Guide* (Greenwood and Hembree, 2006). Greenwood and Hembree write that the price ranges in the guide are based on what the market will bear and, by surveying a number of dealers nationwide, the prices are standardized. Gruhn and Carter (1991) noted that since the vintage guitar market was relatively small, one collector could change the price of an instrument. This is the reason Gruhn and Carter did not publish monetary values in their guide. However, since the initial printing of Gruhn and Carter's book, the market for guitars has expanded, and some standardization can be seen as positive for both buyers and dealers. In developing a standard, Greenwood and Hembree (2006) established a "42 index," the price it would cost to buy the most collectible guitars from Gibson, Fender, and Martin prior to the 1960s; Martin made primarily acoustic instruments. The cost of these guitars in 1996 was \$50,000 compared to a 2006 cost of \$540,000 dollars. The '58 Les Paul Standard and the custom color Stratocasters from the 1950s are omitted from the index due to their soaring value.

The price of a guitar can change over time depending upon a number of factors, some of which were discussed above, such as quality, association with famous musicians, and dealer surveys results. Changes in the price for Les Pauls and Stratocasters were indicative of how particular guitars can gain value that seems beyond their extrinsic characteristics. The Les Paul Standard debuted in 1957 at a price of \$275 (Wheeler, 1990). This guitar was produced for three years, thus, it is a

rather rare commodity. Its importance is also based upon the introduction of new pickups (especially ones labeled with “patented applied for” (PAF) labels), woods, and finishes. However, the characteristics of the guitar were perhaps secondary to those who played it: rock stars such as Jimmy Page, Eric Clapton, and Mike Bloomfield. The Les Paul was also discontinued in 1960 and by that time had been redesigned. The Les Paul Standards from 1957 through 1959 had risen to an average price of \$45,000 by 1996. In 2006, ten years later, the same guitar was valued at around \$200,000 (see Table One). Contributing to this would be the low production numbers; around 1,700 Standard and Gold Topped Les Pauls were shipped during the period (Wheeler 1990). Fender Stratocasters have also become more valuable. The Stratocaster debuted in 1954 at \$250 (Wheeler, 1990) and while its value did not rise initially at the rate of the Les Paul, it saw a respectable jump. In 1996, a standard black Stratocaster from the mid-1960s, much like Jimi Hendrix played, was worth around \$3,750 and by 2006 had risen to \$11,000. For the ten year period between 1996 and 2006, the price of the Les Paul and the Stratocaster described above rose by 4.2 and 3.2 times, respectively.

Table 1: Guitar Prices for Selected Electric Guitars in US dollars: 1996 and 2006

	1996	2006
1958 Gibson Les Paul Standard	\$45,000.00	\$200,000.00
1967 Fender Stratocaster	\$3,750.00	\$11,000.00

Sources: Greenwood and Hembre 2006, 1996

Why was there such a sudden rise in price over a ten year period? Greenwood and Hembree (2006) cite a poor stock market that led people to invest in musical instruments rather than stocks, driving up the price of electric guitars. Gruhn (1999) notes that player collectors make up the largest segment of buyers. These player-collectors imbue the guitar with a cultural meaning that takes into account the increasing importance of the guitar for male baby boomers and the rise of the cultural omnivore (Ryan and Peterson, 2001). Middle class U.S. adults were once expected to drop their ties to adolescent fancies and cultivate an appreciation for mature high cultural values, classical music for instance, but this notion of hegemonic culture has changed (Kotarba, 2005). These cultural ‘omnivores’ are now seen as appreciating a wide range of music, thus still embracing the music of their youth (Ryan and Peterson, 2001).

Popular music trends during the twentieth century demonstrated a pattern whereby the popular music of youth was replaced by other musical forms that appealed to a new generation (Garofalo, 2006). We can see this pattern historically from early 20th century Tin Pan Alley music up to the present. However, rock stars of the baby boomers remain extremely popular, as evidenced by the Top Ten success of Paul McCartney’s album recorded under the Starbucks Coffee label (Leeds, 2007). As one of the Beatles, McCartney holds a special place in the heart of many boomers, as does John Lennon (Suddath, 2010). The popularity of musicians from the 1960s and ‘70s is further reflected in the success of guitar auctions of famous rock stars, boomers themselves. It is likely that prices for older instruments are affected by these auctions, given the timing of the auctions and the accompanying rise in values. Adams (2004), writing for *Forbes Global*, a key publication in the financial industry,

notes that the guitars of rock stars of the 1960s and '70s bring larger sums than one would expect.

When Eric Clapton's favorite Fender Stratocaster, "Blackie," brought more than six times its high estimate of \$50,000 at Christie's auction of the rock legend's guitars in June 2004, collectors could see this category was blasting through the roof. The celebrity guitar market is getting another test now, as we go to press. On Dec. 7 Christie's is selling a 1964 Gibson SG that was played by the Beatles' George Harrison and John Lennon between 1966 and 1969. Though the estimate on this cherry-finished treasure is \$500,000, it could challenge Blackie's \$960,000. Celebrity-worshipping male boomers who once sported long hair, owned Volkswagen buses and played guitar themselves are all potential buyers in this inflating market, though the high end is currently dominated by corporations like Guitar Center, which bought Blackie, and the Hard Rock Café chain.

(Adams, 2004, p. 86)

Expectations were overblown, however, the 1964 Gibson SG played by Beatles George Harrison and John Lennon sold for *only* \$570,000 at auction, a bit over the \$550,000 expected price, according to the *Western Mail* (2004). The cultural importance of these instruments, due to their association with the heroes of the baby boomers, has been an important reason for their increasing monetary value as evidenced in these high auction prices. However, anecdotal accounts alone do not provide sufficient information to test the effects of the importance of the electric guitar, particularly the Les Paul and Stratocaster, in U.S. culture. To test this, we now turn to the media and its role in popularizing the electric guitar.

THE MEDIA EFFECT

The historical information above outlines the progression of the electric guitar across time, and how, and perhaps why, the value of Les Pauls and Stratocasters increased dramatically. However, beyond these accounts, how do we know the Gibson Les Paul and Fender Stratocaster were truly more popular than other guitars across time? One means to assess the popularity of particular guitars is to look to the popular media. Media plays an important role in cultural change by presenting new products, highlighting competition between innovators, and reacting to consumers (Anotelli, 2006; Peterson and Anand, 2004). The media also plays a different role than gatekeepers; while gatekeepers have been characterized as an occupational group, the media's ties to production have most often been analyzed at the organizational level or as a source for identity formation and maintenance (Peterson and Anand, 2004). If the Gibson Les Paul and Fender Stratocaster were really as influential as many have contended, they should appear on *Guitar Player* magazine covers more than other guitars. This is in fact the case, as demonstrated in Table Two.

Table 2: Guitars of *Guitar Player* Magazine Covers, 1967-2002

Guitar Type	(%)
Gibson Les Paul	10.9
Fender Stratocaster	17.4
Gibson ES335	5.5
Fender Telecaster	4.7
Gibson ES175	0.5
Gretsch Hollowbody	3.1
Hollowbody Archtop	5.7
Gibson SG	3.1
Gibson Firebird	1.0
Gibson Flying V	0.8
Gibson Explorer	0.5
Acoustic	8.9
Classical	2.1
Japanese	1.2
Stratocaster Copy	8.1
Other Electrical	11.5
Amplifier	0.8
Strings/Parts	2.3
Headstock/Neck/Body of guitar	1.3
Fender (other)	1.3
Steel Guitari	0.5
Dobro	0.5
Bass Guitar	1.8
Paul Reed Smith guitar	1.0
New Gear Issues	0.50
Total	100.00

Source: *Guitar Player* magazine

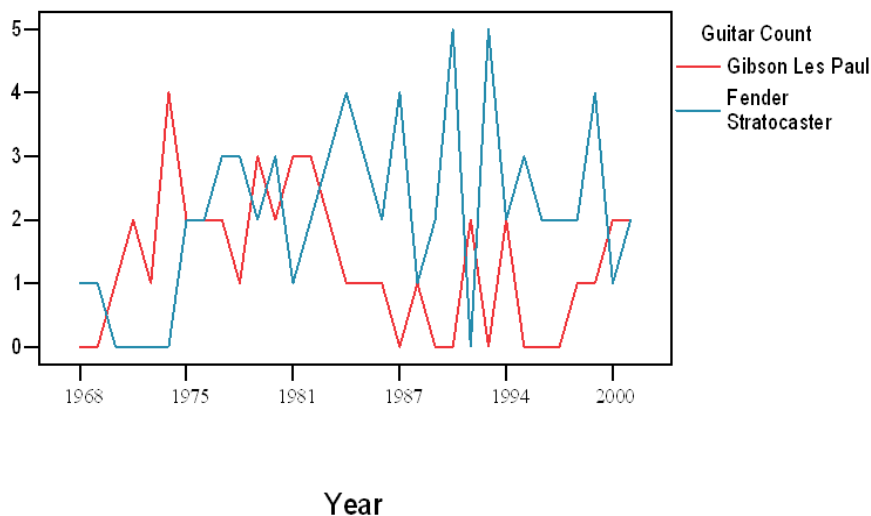
When looking at the covers (N=384), one can see that the Fender Stratocaster at around seventeen and a half percent occurs more than any other guitar across a thirty five year period. Much of this popularity occurred during the era of “Stratomania” of the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Table Two). The Fender Stratocaster’s modified cousin, *Strat copy*, accounted for a significant number of guitar covers (over eight percent) on *Guitar Player* magazine’s cover. The Gibson Les Paul was the second most featured guitar on the cover at nearly eleven percent of the total.¹ The Gibson ES335 and its Gibson variants, popularized first by Chuck Berry and later by BB King, appeared on five and a half percent of covers. The Fender Telecaster, favored by early rock and rollers and country music guitarists, made up around five percent. The Gibson SG, a guitar particularly popular with the 1960s and 1970s rock musicians (Wheeler, 1990), was seen on over three percent of covers. The Acoustic guitar is seen on nearly nine percent of covers, while hollowbody archtop make up a little over five and a half percent. However, the electric guitar *dominated* the covers.² The overwhelming presence of the Gibson Les Paul and the Fender Stratocaster supports the contention that the magazine and those responsible for its publication (*i.e.*, writers and editors), were implicit in the co-creation of the importance of these guitars from 1967-2002, formative years for the baby boomers.

¹It should be noted that one category nearly matches the Gibson Les Paul category: the other electric category. This primarily consists of single guitars, although there are some exceptions, such as the Hagstrom Les Paul look alike from the 1970s. Many of these were custom guitars.

²This may have been due partly due to the effects of new magazines developed for a niche market of acoustic guitarists.

Given the importance of the Les Paul and Stratocaster, a look at their relative standing to one another over the thirty five year period will provide a test of the earlier ideas about innovation. Did the Les Paul, which combined the focus on elements of classical tradition in guitar design with innovations, have an earlier appeal than the Stratocaster, whose more radical design may have taken players longer to accept? Comparing the two guitars finds this to be the case (see Table Three). The Gibson Les Paul was much more common on the cover of *Guitar Player* magazine during the first several years than the Fender Stratocaster. The Les Paul first appeared in 1971 as part of special issue on guitars. At its peak in 1975, the Les Paul was on four *Guitar Player* covers out of twelve in a single year. By the later 1970s and early 1980s, the Les Paul and Stratocaster represented from two to three covers each. Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Stratocaster reached cover status four times a year in two different years. This was followed by a period in the early nineties where the Stratocaster appears five times in two different years. Following this period, the Les Paul's number of cover appearances diminishes, while the Stratocaster remains steady. These images were important in the production of the Stratocaster and Les Paul as the iconic images of electric guitars in U.S. culture. However, the guitar's image alone was just one means by which these instruments became iconic. Was their association with rock stars of the time also instrumental in their cultural importance? To answer this question, the artists associated with the Les Paul and Stratocaster are now analyzed.

Table 3: Gibson Les Paul and Fender Stratocaster on *Guitar Player* Magazine Covers, 1967-2002



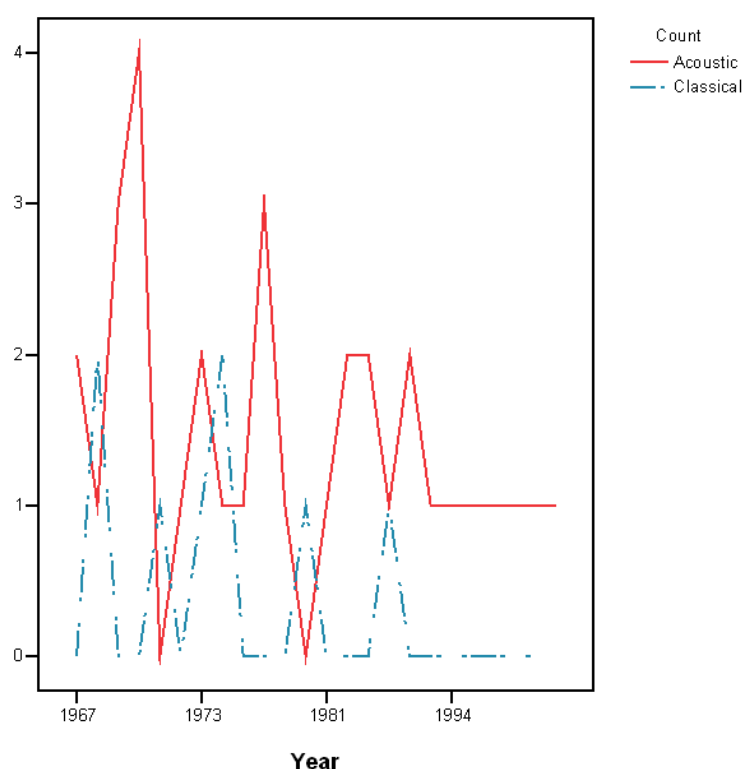
Source: *Guitar Player* magazine

Artists featured playing the Les Paul began with Leslie West (shown on the cover of *Guitar Player* magazine with a Les Paul Junior) in 1972. On the Les Paul's way to its peak appearances, many other artists were seen on the magazine cover holding it. These included: Dickie Betts in 1972; Jeff Beck in 1973; J. Giles, the guitarists for Wishbone Ash and Carlos Santana in 1974; and Jan Abercrombie and Joe Walsh in 1975. During the later 1970s and the early 1980s, the Les Paul continues appearing on the magazine's cover with southern rockers Dickie Betts and Ty Caldwell in 1976; Charlie Daniels and Les Paul himself in 1977; Al Demiola in 1978; Ace Freely of Kiss, Mike Bloomfield, and Rick Nielsen (with Les Paul Jr.) in 1979; Pat Travers and Jon Williams in 1980; Styx, Duane Allman, and Peter Frampton in 1981; and Gary Richrath, Neil Schon, and Randy Rhodes in 1982. Artists seen on the magazine cover

with a Stratocaster match the numbers of those with a Les Paul in the later 1970s, and then surpass it during most of the 1980s and 1990s, during the Stratomania era. The first peak for the Stratocaster is likely attributable to the popularity of Jimi Hendrix. He was the first artist featured on the cover playing a solidbody electric guitar; the year was 1968 and the guitar was a Fender Stratocaster. Hendrix was extremely influential on his generation of rock guitarists (Murray, 1989). *Guitar Player* magazine covers feature the following guitarists pictured with Stratocasters during this period: Jerry Garcia of the Grateful Dead in 1971; Jimi Hendrix and Ron Wood of the Rolling Stones in 1975; Eric Clapton and Robbie Robertson of the Band in 1976; Frank Zappa, Bonnie Raitt, and Jim Messina in 1977; Rory Gallagher, Steve Howe of Yes, Ritchie Blackmore of Deep Purple in 1978; and Mick Ralphs and Nancy Wilson in 1979. Frank Zappa's cover shot in 1977 featured him holding a Stratocaster; notably, this guitar was once owned by Jimi Hendrix and set on fire by him during a concert. The second wave of Stratocaster popularity can be explained by other reasons. In the 1980s and 1990s, more popular guitarists were adopting the Stratocaster as the guitar of choice. Add to this, the popularity of Eddie Van Halen and we see another reason for the increase. Finally, guitarists were beginning to experiment with guitar building (influenced by Van Halen), and the Stratocaster with its bolt on neck and easily changeable parts made it a prime candidate for tinkering.

This article also argues above that guitars changed across time and this innovation was seen in the blending of the classical and radical elements of the acoustic and electric guitar. To test ideas about guitar innovation, data from *Guitar Player* magazine covers provide an overview of changes across time and a test of the overall argument represented in Figure One that there was a progression from acoustic guitars to the electric. Table Four shows the classical guitar on the cover twice in 1968, once in 1971, 1973, 1983, and 1990 and shared the cover in 1971, 1974, 1978, 1981, and 1987.

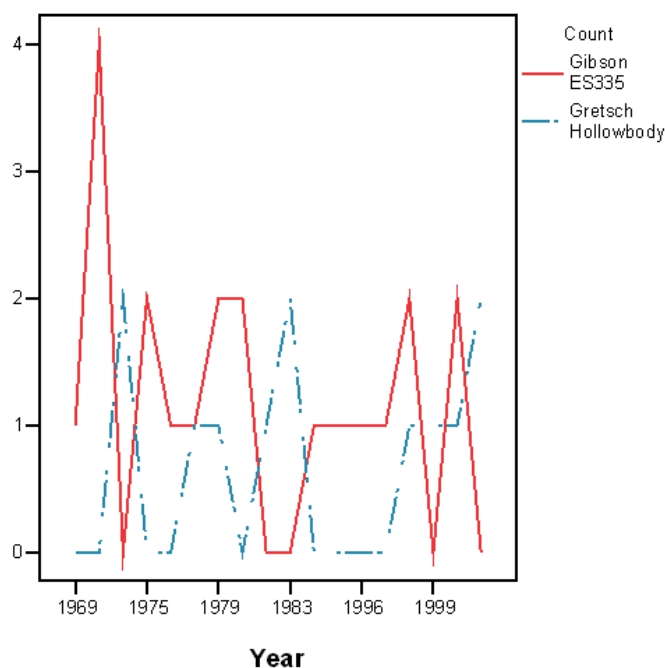
Table 4: Acoustic and Classical Guitars on *Guitar Player* Magazine Covers, 1967-2002



Source: *Guitar Player* magazine

Over 35 years, the classical was only on the cover around two percent of the time (see Table Two). Looking at the acoustic guitar, Table Four shows that it was more numerous in the earlier days of the magazine but later was only featured periodically. Overall, the Acoustic guitar is seen on nearly nine percent of the covers (see Table Two). The hollowbody archtop acoustic was on nearly six percent of the covers, in between classical and acoustic guitars (see Table Two). Innovation of the electric guitar is especially noticeable with the Gibson Les Paul and the Fender Stratocaster described above, however, another innovative design can be seen in the semi-hollowbody electric. This guitar generally had a piece of wood in the middle of the guitar which enabled it to emulate the sound of the solidbody electric. However, its sides were hollow, often with the F-shaped holes of the hollowbody archtop acoustic, enabling it to also emulate the sound of an archtop guitar. It is most famously demonstrated by a Gibson ES335 style seen in Figure One. While its cover appearances were not on par with the Les Paul and Stratocaster, it was seen on the magazine cover 5.5% of the time over 35 years (see Table Two). This guitar was more popular in the earlier years of the magazine but saw a resurgence in the later 1990s (see Table Five). The early importance was most likely due to the popularity of BB King and Chuck Berry (both of whom played enhanced versions of this guitar), while a number of blues and jazz players were seen playing it in later years. While the Gibson ES335 proved a dominant version of the semi-hollowbody guitar, another guitar, the Gretsch, had similar features to take advantage of both the attributes of the hollowbody sound and the solidbody innovations. Gretsch electric guitars often had solid pieces of wood running inside or sometimes had closed F-holes to cut down on feedback. Gretsches appeared on the cover a little over 3% of the time over 35 years but spoke to the innovative power of the semi-hollowbody electric (see Table Two). The Gretsch was particularly favored as a rockabilly instrument and was also popularized by Chet Atkins, who, even though he was famous for his solo guitar playing, was an integral part of the early rockabilly movement having produced Elvis Presley for RCA (Escott and Hawkins, 1980). A broader coding of thinline, hollowbody electrics including the Gibson ES335 and the Gretsch hollowbody would represent over eight and a half percent of the total guitars on the cover. This demonstrates the popularity of thinner semi-hollow and hollowbody electric guitars.

Table 5: Select Semi-Hollowbody Electric Guitars on *Guitar Player* Magazine Covers, 1967-2002



Source: *Guitar Player* magazine

In sum, the overview of electric guitars on *Guitar Player* magazine covers supports the contention that the production of guitars took a course from the traditional to the innovative. The radical designs in between were seen as important historically (Wheeler, 1990) but would likely not be as recognized, even by many guitar players (see Figure One). The innovative electric guitar designs are widely recognized and appearances on the magazines' cover attests to their importance in establishing the electric guitar, and especially the Les Paul and Stratocaster, as icons.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The Gibson Les Paul and Fender Stratocaster are shown to be the iconic representation of the electric guitar. Both guitars were part of a concerted effort to offer players something new, took elements of classic guitar building and modified them to come up with an innovative product, and were produced by research and development teams with input from players. But their place as icons was neither planned nor certain. Their eventual status was part of a larger process. Professional guitarists adopted these guitars in lieu of other models. Manufacturers flirted with radical designs but these designs were not well received, so they produced instruments combining traditional and contemporary attributes, like the Les Paul and Stratocaster. These instruments appealed to guitar players who were willing to accept some changes to the norm but not radical ones. While a number of guitars were produced both in the U.S. and abroad, the quality U.S. manufacturers built somewhat limited quantities, and in some cases like the Gibson Les Paul, even discontinued production of the instruments for a time. Fender was sold to CBS in 1965, increasing the value of the earlier models of the Stratocaster. Players and dealers recognized the perceived and real advantages of these guitars.

The Les Paul and the Stratocaster became *the* images of the electric guitar. Why, ultimately, was this the case? Rock guitar stars preferred the Les Paul and the Fender Stratocaster. In contrast to the work of Peterson (1997), where performing artists were more institutionally managed, guitarists of rock and blues played a major role in determining what was important. Even though guitar manufacturers picked up on the trend and began to produce larger numbers of the Stratocaster and reintroduced the Les Paul, the mystique of the earlier instruments was now established. Collectors began to accumulate older electric guitars as demand rose, first, for the Les Paul and, later, the Stratocaster. Rock star auctions added to the fervor about electric guitars associated with rock music of the baby boomers. The media also aided in creating and maintaining the popularity of these instruments.

Production of the electric guitar as analyzed here focused on the companies producing them, the professional guitar players playing and responding to them, guitar dealers responding to and helping to create tastes of players, and the media's depiction of the ideal electric guitar. This article has focused on the production of the electric guitar largely through the institutional side of the equation. It does not investigate the reception of the guitar by audiences and players systematically (see Griswald, 1992) but this would be a promising area for investigation. Future research could use Ryan and Peterson's (2001) classification of guitar collectors to gauge the appeal of these guitars. Another means to do this would be to survey the readership of guitar publications.

In these days of McDonaldized production and a throwaway society, it can be hard to find commodities that hold their worth (Ritzer, 2004). The vintage electric guitar is

a cultural product that belies this pattern. The 1950s and 1960s are seen by many as the golden age of the U.S. manufacturing and of electric guitar production. The Les Paul and Stratocaster guitars of the 1950s through the 1960s have been identified as preeminent creations of this golden age of production (Gruhn and Carter, 1991). These cultural products have become valuable and often copied. This is not the only place where we see this pattern; cars, furniture, and stereo equipment are other examples of the nostalgia for an age when quality was thought to, or perhaps did, reign over quantity.

Cultural commodities can become particularly valuable when they are perceived to be a superior product, touted by gatekeepers, and valued due to some aesthetic quality. As the culture changes, certain commodities are viewed as more valuable, depending on a number of historically contingent circumstances. It is difficult to predict what will be seen as valuable in the future. Will people recognize the same aesthetic qualities in new products? Will new gatekeepers come along to promote these products and aesthetics or will old gatekeepers embrace them? Both are likely. The process of creating both material and non-material culture includes key actors trying to determine what people want; among these are artists, artisans, and larger manufacturers and consumers responding across time by receiving and reacting to cultural change. Products of culture are often imbued with deep meaning by those who use them and those who see them used. Through a long process, certain products may become cultural icons - singularly important, highly valued, and often copied. These products are often of superior quality but this is not sufficient to make them icons. As demonstrated in this paper, their association with the times, people, and music help determine their importance. While it is difficult to assess what will have a lasting impact, it is fairly certain that the process will be determined by institutional and cultural expectations along the way as shaped by our own embodied reactions to these aesthetic objects.

The creation of culture is an ongoing process whereby artifacts are created and changed across time through interactions with a variety of forces. Sociologists can contribute to the study of this process by studying it at all levels. However, it is particularly important to study it at the institutional level where corporate units and their actors may exert inordinate pressure on changes in the culture. What was once the creation of small groups in often limited geographical spaces is now a battlefield where organizations vie for supremacy in the creation of new products. Cross cutting corporate ownership and control can lead to oligopolistic tendencies in the creation of cultural artifacts. However, this can open niches for new and, perhaps future oligopolistic, organizations. Technological innovations are sometimes embraced by smaller, more flexible organizations that can tap into uncharted or unrecognized cultural waters. Consumers can be guided by corporate images created by the media. Corporations watch over grassroots creation of culture, where authenticity can be mined and served up as real. Still, quality can be conditioned by non-corporate gatekeepers and consumers, who sometimes become creators or marketers, in the face of the vagaries of other cultural forces. What will be the next be the next iconic cultural product? We cannot be sure but somewhere it is incubating, just waiting to hatch.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Susan. (2004) The Right Stuff. *Forbes Global*, 7 (22): 86.
- Antonelli, Cristiano. (2006) Diffusion as a process of creative adoption. *Journal of Technology Transfer*, 31: 211-226.

- Bacon, Tony. (2002) Solid gold: An exclusive preview of *50 Years of the Gibson Les Paul*. *Guitar Player*, July: 62-78.
- Bacon, Tony. (2000) *Electric Guitars: The Illustrated Encyclopedia*. San Diego, CA: Thunder Bay Press.
- Ball, Michael S. and Gregory W. H. Smith. (1992) *Analyzing Visual Data*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Becker, Howard S. (1982) *Art Worlds*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Becker, Howard S. (1974) Art as collective action. *American Sociological Review*, 39: 767-76.
- Becker, Howard S. (1973) *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: Free Press.
- Bennett, James (ed.). (2005) *100 Best Selling Albums*. New York, NY: Amber Books Ltd.
- Bijsterveld, Karin and Marten Schulp. (2004) Breaking into a world of perfection: innovation in today's classical music instruments. *Social Studies of Science*, 34: 649-674.
- Bonds, Ray. (2001) *The Illustrated Book of Guitars*. St. Paul, MN: Salamander Books.
- Clapton, Eric. (2007) *Clapton: The Autobiography*. New York, NY: Broadway Books.
- Crane, Diana. (1994) Introduction: the challenge of the sociology of culture to sociology as a discipline," In Diana Crane (ed.), *The Sociology of Culture*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, pp. 1-20.
- Dowd, Timothy J. (2004) Production Perspectives in the Sociology of Music. *Poetics*, 32: 235-246.
- Dowd, Timothy J. (2003) Structural power and the construction of markets: the case of rhythm and blues. *Comparative Social Research*, 21: 145-199.
- Dowd, Timothy J. (2000) *Making the Mainstream Market: Organizational and Musical Change in the US Recording Industry*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University: Princeton, NJ.
- Dowd, Tim, Kathy Liddle and Maureen Blyler. (2005) Charting gender: the success of female acts in the U.S. mainstream recording market, 1940 to 1990. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 23: 81-123.
- Escott, Colin and Martin Hawkins. (1980) *Sun Records: The Brief History of the Legendary Record Label*. New York: Quick Fox.
- Eyerman, Ron and Andrew Jamison. (1998) *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fender, Leo. (1990) Interview with Tom Wheeler. *American Guitars: An Illustrated History*. New York, NY: Perennial, pp. 15-17.
- Fine, Gary Alan. (1992) The culture of production: aesthetic choices and constraints in culinary work. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(5): 1268-1294.
- Garofalo, Reebee. (2005) *Rockin' Out: Popular Music in the USA, 3rd Edition*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Greenfield, Liah. (1989) *Different Worlds*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Greenwood, Alan and Gil Hembree. (2006) *The Official Vintage Guitar Magazine Price Guide*. Bismark, North Dakota: Vintage Guitar Books.
- Greenwood, Alan and Gil Hembree. (1996) *The Official Vintage Guitar Magazine Price Guide*. Bismark, North Dakota: Vintage Guitar Books.
- Griswald, Wendy. (1992) The Writing on the Mud Wall: Nigerian Novels and the Imaginary Village. *American Sociological Review*, 57: 709-724.
- Gruhn, George. (1995) The unique world of George Gruhn. *Musical Merchandise Review*. Accessed 5 August 2010 from <http://www.gruhn.com/articles/gginterview.html>.
- Gruhn, George. (1999) Gen x, gen y, and the vintage guitar. *Vintage Guitar*, 12: 189-90
- Gruhn, George and Walter Carter. (1991) *Gruhn's Guide to Vintage Guitars*. San Francisco: GPI Books.
- Hirsch, Paul M. (1972) Processing Fads and Fashions: An Organization-Set Analysis of Cultural Industry Systems. *American Journal of Sociology*, 77: 639-59.
- Kloosterman, Robert C. and Chris Quispel. (1990) Not just the same old show on my radio: an

- analysis of the role of radio in the diffusion of black music among whites in the south of the United States of America, 1920 to 1960. *Popular Music*, 9: 151-164.
- Kotarba, Joseph A. (2005) Rock 'n' roll experiences in middle age. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(11): 524-37.
- Leeds, Jeff. (2007) McCartney signs with Starbucks for his next album. *New York Times*. Accessed 5 August 2010 from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/22/business/media/22music.html>.
- Malone, Bill C. (1985) *Country Music USA*. University of Texas Press, Austin, TX.
- Marontate, Jan. (2005) Digital recording and reconfiguration of music as performance. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(11): 1422-38.
- Martorella, Rosanne. (1982) *The Sociology of Opera*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin.
- Mauss, Marcel. (2001) *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. London: Routledge.
- McLeod, Norma. (1992) "Ethnomusicalological research and anthropology," In Kay Kaufman Shelemay (ed.), *Ethnomusicology: History, Definitions, and Scope*. New York: Garland, pp. 147-163.
- McSwain, Rebecca. (1995) The power of the electric guitar. *Popular Music and Society*, 19(4): 21-40.
- Meeker, Ward. (2010) "Billy Squier." *Vintage Guitar*. Accessed 5 August 2010 from: <http://www.vintageguitar.com/3221/billy-squier>.
- Mix. 2005. Les Paul log. Accessed 9 November 2012 from: http://mixonline.com/Online_Extras_Main_Page/Les_paul_photo_gallery/.
- Museum of Making Music. 2009. Elektro frying pan. Accessed 19 March, 2010. CC-BY-3.0: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Elektrofryingpan.jpg>.
- Murray, Charles Shaar. (1989) *Jimi Hendrix and the Rock and Roll Revolution*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Parsons, Talcott. (1951) *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: Free Press.
- Paul, Les. (1990) "Recollections on birth of Les Paul guitar." In Tom Wheeler (ed.), *American Guitars: An Illustrated History*, New York: Harper Perennial, pp. 155-157.
- Peden, John. (2013) Les Paul log. The Smithsonian National Museum of American History, courtesy of the Country Music Hall of Fame. Accessed 9 November 2012 from: <http://invention.smithsonian.org/centerpieces/electricguitar/pop-ups/02-07.htm>.
- Peterson, William. (1997) *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Peterson, William. (1994) Culture studies through the production perspective: progress and prospects." In Diana Crane (ed.), *The Sociology of Culture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, pp. 163-190.
- Peterson, William. (1979) Revitalizing the culture concept. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 5: 137-166.
- Peterson, William. (1978) The production of cultural change: the case of contemporary country music. *Social Research*, 45: 295-314.
- Peterson, Richard and N. Anand. (2004) The production of culture perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30: 311-334.
- Pinch, Trevor and Frank Trocco. (2002) *Analog Days: The Invention and Impact of the Moog Synthesizer*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Powell, Walter. (1978) Publisher's decision making: what criterion do they use when deciding which books to publish? *Social Research*, 45: 227-252.
- Radway, Janice. (1991) Introduction: writing reading the romance. *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 1-18.

- Ritzer, George. (2004) *The McDonaldization of Society: Revised New Century Edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.
- Ryan, John and Richard A. Peterson. (2001) The guitar as artifact and icon: identity formation in the baby boom generation," In Andy Bennett and Kevin Dawe (eds.), *Guitar Cultures*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 89-116.
- Ryan, John and Richard A. Peterson. (1982) The product image: the fate of creativity in country music songwriting. *Annual Reviews of Communication Research*, 10: 11-32.
- Sallis, James. (1994) *The Guitar Players: One Instrument and Its Masters in American Music*. Lincoln, Nebraska: Bison Books, University of Nebraska Press.
- Siegel, Joel A. (1979) "Mark Knopfler: innovative leader of Dire Straits." *Guitar Player*, July, pp. 32-34.
- Suddath, Claire. (2010) "Why John Lennon still moves us." *Time*, October 18, p. 73.
- Van Delinder, Jean. (2005) Taylorism, managerial control strategies, and the ballets of Balanchine and Stravinsky. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(11): 1439-52.
- Waksman, Steve. (2004) California noise: tinkering in hardcore and heavy metal in Southern California. *Social Studies of Science*, 34: 675-702.
- Waksman, Steve. (2001) Into the arena: Edward Van Halen and the cultural contradictions of the guitar hero." In Andy Bennett and Kevin Dawe (eds.), *Guitar Cultures*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 117-134.
- Waksman, Steve. (1999) *Instruments of Desire: The Electric Guitar and the Shaping of Musical Experience*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Weber, Max. (1957 [1921]) *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*. Don Martindale, Johannes Riedel, and Gertrude Neuwirth (eds. and translators), Carbondale, Il.: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Western Mail*. (2004) Beatles guitar sells for pounds 294,000. London: Custom Newspapers, December 20, p. 7.
- Wheeler, Tom. (2004) *The Stratocaster Chronicles: Celebrating 50 Years of the Fender Strat*. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard.
- Wheeler, Tom. (1990) *American Guitars: An Illustrated History*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Wheeler, Tom. (1980) "The guitar in America life: from the founding of Fender to the present, part three." *Guitar Player*, December: 54-60.
- Winther, Jennifer. (2005) The embodiment of sound and cohesion in music. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48(11): 1410-1421.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

William F. Danaher is a Professor of Sociology at the College of Charleston. He has published on work, identity, culture, and social movements.